854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

ALBANIA

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Franciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal, and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage." "They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away. In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31, 1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage." And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted, and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before
585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common.
534 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage
589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her
626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms,
689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given
562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself,
839 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842]
uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592]
take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584
relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583
price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585
at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291]
kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301]
necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291]
and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom, who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576]
have to assume a superhuman modesty.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

584 betrothal, as was customary, they were not allowed to meet, and the unfortunate man did not know till the veil was lifted in church that they had betrothed him to the girl's elder sister. He at once said, "I refuse to take her." The assembled relatives hushed him up and said he must not make a disturbance in church. He, thinking his protest was sufficient, allowed the service to finish. So soon as it was over he repudiated the girl, and said if she was taken to his home he should not return there. Nor did he. His parents kept her some time and then sent her to her own home. He returned then; but left when they again [586] sent her round. The affair was some two or three years old. All parties were greatly concerned. But I could not make them believe that Rome, if properly applied to, would certainly declare this to be no marriage.

Among the Moslems the usual form of Mohammedan divorce prevailed.

7. Marriage of an Outsider into a Tribe

MONTENEGRO

Outsider into the Tribe.—There was one exception to the rule which forbade any man—an outsider—to become a member of a tribe. If a man had no sons and one or more daughters he could, with the consent of his bratstvo and tribe, import a son-in-law instead of exporting all his daughters.

This man then lived as son of the house and took the place of a son. He lost all rights in his former tribe and was a member of that which he had married into. He dropped his own family name and took that of Domazet ("dom," the house; "zet," son-in-law). His sons were Domazetovitch, a name which can still be found in Montenegro and, I believe, in Bosnia.

But the introduction of a man of another tribe was so much disliked that in marriages of this kind the domazet was, as a rule, chosen if possible from another group within the tribe that was not related by blood. Such groups existed in most of the larger tribes (*v.* Tribes).

FORBIDDEN DEGREES

In Montenegro, though the ancient strict rule of exogamy no longer held good as regards tribes according to law, yet in practice there was still a tendency to marry outside the tribe or into a quite distant group of it.

The laws of the Orthodox Church on forbidden degrees were given me by Pope Gjuro as follows:—

[P-215-242 BLANK]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Their wives and mothers, like women generally, are well up in all the degrees of kinship and descent, and the preliminaries of betrothals are usually settled by them in the harem before they are submitted to the head of the family and communicated to the parties most nearly interested. Children are frequently betrothed before they are ten years of age, and occasionally while still in the cradle. In such cases, however, the arrangement is kept secret from the couple until the young man is in a position to marry. This usage is intended to prevent the Albanian youths marrying in the towns to which they resort for employment. A refusal on the part of a young man to fulfil an engagement made for him by his parents, would inevitably result not only in a vendetta with the relatives of the rejected bride, but in social ostracism. Such cases are, however, extremely rare, for, as the bridegroom elect has, as a rule, never beheld the bride chosen for him, he can have no reason for refusing to marry her. In such an eventuality national usage decrees that the younger brothers and sisters of the maiden may not marry until her matrimonial affairs are satisfactorily settled.

Women in Albania being less numerous than men, it is not customary to require a portion with the bride, who is, on the contrary, as among the Vlachs and Bulgarians, practically purchased from her father or brothers for a sum of money which varies according to the wealth and standing of the respective families. The parents of the maiden, however, besides providing the materials for her trousseau, supply her with various articles of jewellery and a

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 certain amount of plenishing, the bridegroom supplying the rest.

585 184 With the exception of the nuptial benediction, the marriage customs of the Christian and Moslem Albanians are similar, and there is very little difference in the songs by which they are accompanied. Among the Moslems the betrothal takes [584] place in the presence of the Kadi. This functionary receives the declaration of mutual consent, made on the part of the maiden by her natural guardians, who undertake to prove it by the mouth of two Moslem witnesses. After a prayer for the benediction of Allah on the union, a contract is drawn up enumerating the articles to be given to the bride by her parents, and stipulating the sum to be paid to her by the husband in the event of his divorcing her. To this document the Kadi and the witnesses affix their seals, and this ceremony constitutes the legal marriage.

As with the Osmanlis, the bride does not, however, go to her husband's house until the wedding festivities have taken place, the interval ranging in duration from a few weeks to a year, according to the convenience of the bridegroom's family. As the ceremonies observed in Epirus present so many points of similarity with those of the Greeks,[1] I will here describe only those belonging to Upper Albania which present features peculiar to themselves.

The festivities invariably begin on a Thursday with the sending of the *dunti* by the bridegroom. This is the decorated box containing the presents to the bride of various articles of dress and ornament,

[1] Vol. I. chap. iii.

PEAKS OF SHALA

comer in the family, is a suppliant for the gift of fire, of life, of the Mystery that continues the race.

On the third day she puts on the heavy belt that means she is a wife, and thereafter she goes about the household, obeying the commands of the elders, always standing until they tell her to sit, and for six months not speaking unless they address her. And it is her duty to care for the fire, and with her fire tongs to light the cigarettes smoked by any of the family, or by their guests. Sometime, when it is convenient, she and her husband will go to the church and be married by the priest. Usually she has not seen her husband until she comes to his house, since she is of another tribe and the marriage is arranged by the families.

"We have tried to prevent the betrothing of children before they are born," said the bishop, smiling ruefully, "and in many centuries we have had some effect. Children now are usually not betrothed until they are two or three years old. Even that we combat, of course, yet I cannot say that the custom makes much unhappiness. Husbands and wives are good comrades; they almost never quarrel and they are devoted to their children. But you will see all that for yourself. Yet occasionally there is something like this Shala-Shoshi affair, which I fear will lead to much bloodshed. But the dinner is ready and my servant will show you your room and bring water to wash your hands."

The servant led us to the bishop's own bed-

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

837 628 619 thing would mean a blood feud between tribes. No man would make love to a girl of his own tribe, of course; a tribe traces its ancestry back to a common ancestor, and it would be like an American's making love to his own sister. And if he seduced a girl of another tribe he would be involving hundreds of people. Men have to respect women in these mountains; they're killed if they don't, and not only they, but their families. A blood feud is no joke.

"However, I did hear of its happening once. The man's family had to send word to the family of the girl to whom he was betrothed, to say that he could not marry her because he was going to have a child by another woman. The three tribes met in council and prevented a blood feud, but the man's family had to pay his fiancée's tribe ten thousand kronen, and ten thousand kronen to the family of the man that the other girl was engaged to. Then those two married, and the first man married the girl who was going to have his child. But it was a terrible disgrace to both their families.

But he cut short our awed admiration for such a rigidly moral community. He was a man of Ipek, educated in Europe, and returned to Tirana, and his attitude to the ignorant tribes of these mountains was not one of admiration.

584 627 "They are really a wretched lot," he declared. "Now, take a thing like this, for instance." And he told us that in a house a few miles down the valley there was a nine-year-old girl held prisoner. The story was this:

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

PEAKS OF SHALA

584
627 A man of Pultit had betrothed his unborn child to the unborn child of a man of Shala, eighteen years ago. The two men, being friends, and one evening drinking rakejia together, had agreed that if one child proved to be a boy and the other a girl, they should marry. The wife of the Pultit man had protested; she did not like the tribe of Shala, and she did not like her husband's friend, perhaps because he was too fond of rakejia. Besides, she was an ambitious woman, and said that if she had a daughter she would marry her in Scutari. Wild, irrational woman! But the compact was made, and nothing was left to her but to hope that both children would be boys, or both girls.

However, she became the mother of a daughter, and the Shala man became the father of a son. The girl was eleven years old, and in a few more years would have been duly married in Shala, when the Serbs and Montenegrins, pouring down over the mountains in the retreat before the Austrians, suddenly invaded Albania, and in fighting those ancestral enemies the girl's father was killed. The mother immediately took her children and fled to Scutari.

Four years later, the girl now being of marriageable age, Shala sent to Scutari for her, and what was their outrage to discover that the mother not only would not give her up, but had actually betrothed her to a Scutari man! The gendarmes of Scutari make simple and direct justice difficult; mountain law does not apply

584 there. Two Shala men made an attempt to
627 carry off the girl, and were captured by superior forces and thrown into jail. Not killed, you perceive, but trapped, and talked over at length, and kept in a cage for some time, and at length freed, all most absurdly and unreasonably. They returned at once to their task, but they found it impossible to seize the girl again. She was closely guarded, not only by her mother, but by the family of the Scutari man to whom she was unjustly betrothed. So, finding that way to justice blocked, the Shala men caught her little sister, eight years old, and triumphantly escaped with her into the mountains.

She was not yet of marriageable age, and the Shala bridegroom must wait another six years, but justice had been done, though imperfectly. Pultit owed him a bride, and a Pultit bride he would have, with patience. The girl was brought to his house, and was even now being kept there, much against her will, while the family waited for her to grow old enough to be married.

ooo "Those are things that we must change as soon as the government is strong enough," Perolli said, decisively, and we hoped that the government would be strong enough in time to rescue the girl, though the poor Shala lad, through no fault of his own, seemed doomed to live an unhappy bachelor.

In Padre Marjan's kitchen we found at least twenty visitors from the village; the men were there again, among them all the chiefs but

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

682 562 628 596 [607] father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's [584] murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her [593] blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

[672] If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

ten or twenty years, according to the crime. In Mirditë, presumably under church influence, the murderer of a priest was expelled for ever, and other anti-social criminals for five to fifteen years. In Martanesh the injured man might after an interval intercede with the local elders and secure a remission of part of the sentence; otherwise the murderer and his descendants must remain in exile. Several local traditions maintain that sentences of perpetual banishment were formerly much commoner. In Martanesh no such sentence has been pronounced for 200 years, and in Shpat none for 100 years. In Lurë any murderer used to be banished in perpetuity; witness the numerous families of Lurë origin who now live in Prizren, Tetovo, Reka and other places in Yugoslavia.

In Lurë when a man was sentenced to perpetual banishment, his nearest kinsmen, those who would have been his heirs in the event of his dying childless, divided up his land. His family was in fact reckoned as extinct so far as the tribe was concerned. In Mirditë also he was considered as dead to the tribe. Father Gjeçov gives two accounts of what happened there to his land. For ordinary expulsions it was left uncultivated and used for public grazing. When a man was expelled for breaking into a church or for killing a priest, his land was bought by his nearest kinsmen and the money given to the church. In Shpat again the murderer's nearest kinsmen divided up his land; but there the elders valued it and the kinsmen paid the murderer the estimated sum before he was drummed out; if they could not raise the money, the village found it, subject to recovering it later from the kinsmen. On the other hand, when a murderer was banished only for a term of years, his land everywhere remained uncultivated until his return, when he built a house and resumed cultivation. During his absence, his ownership of the land was uncontested, but he was not allowed to derive any profit from it. A voluntary exile was in a different position; he could empower a kinsman to work his land and throughout his absence to remit to him in his place of exile an agreed proportion of the profits.

When a man was expelled for good, the community signalled the same by tearing up the four corner-stones of the foundations of his house after they had burned it down. When his banishment was temporary, the corner-stones were left in place to await his return. Again when his banishment was perpetual, there could be no more giving or taking in marriage for him in the village; any engagements

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

subsisting at the time of his expulsion were voided by that fact. When his banishment was temporary, his marriage engagements remained binding.

Even in cases of temporary banishment the murderer's separation from his tribe was thoroughgoing. For the specified period 'he could not light a cigarette in a single house of the tribe', as the men of Lurë put it. Nor could he, or his, return to borrow honey, that most important commodity where sugar is scarce. In Mirditë a tribesman who admitted him to his house for any of the above purposes was publicly 'burned, roasted and expelled' for breaking tribal discipline.

The banished murderer's obligation to take root whether he wished it or not in some alien spot is another of the factors which produced the many colonies of diverse origin in Albanian lands. The exiles, home-sick like exiles the world over, often gave the name of their ancestral village to their new settlement.

If the murderer did not choose to go into exile of his own accord, he was condemned by the avenger to virtual imprisonment in his house. Sometimes he shut himself up voluntarily; more often, especially in north Albania, he was peremptorily ordered to do so by the avenger. For the period of his 'imprisonment' fear that the avenger was lurking near prevented him from stirring outside during the daytime and restricted his movements to the night hours. If he left home, he had by dawn to find shelter under a friend's roof and he could not continue his travels until the next night fell. These disabilities were his so long as he eluded the avenger, and he might do so for years, as in the case of a native of Sheshaj who had been shut up by his enemy for twenty-five years. At Belsh in Dumre, as a result of this confinement, two men who had been shut up for twelve years were 'waxen and yellow as the dead'. They longed to walk in the sunlight and were bored indoors where they could do nothing to pass the time except strip maize and knit (most curiously, knitting is one of the staple occupations of the men, but not the women, in Dumre). But they could not help themselves, since it was certain death to step outside during the daytime.

Just as the murderer's house could not be burned down in case women and children perished in the conflagration, so his 'imprisonment' could not be allowed to stop the work of the family in case women and children died of starvation. There were several

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

APPENDIX

LAWS PASSED AT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

(TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ALBANIAN)

I. Some Laws Ratified by the Prefecture of Shkodër.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 128–9.)

1. Bride-price is not to be altered. The amount fixed seven years ago remains in force. It is, therefore, 600 grosh, a sum which includes everything. Whoever acts contrary to this order will be fined 1000 grosh.

2. Girls will be betrothed by their father, or if they have no father by their brother and, failing him, by their nearest male cousin. Women are not to interfere in betrothals.

3. Every betrothal will be arranged openly not secretly, and there will be a go-between as witness. When the betrothal has been completed and rifles have been fired off in front of the betrothed girl's house, the men who have the right to betroth her will go to the parish priest in order to register the names of the betrothed pair, the registrar and the witnesses, together with all the circumstances. Whosoever does not abide by this decree will be fined 1000 grosh.

4. Whoever refuses to go through the marriage ceremony when the priest comes for that purpose will be fined 1000 grosh.

5. Whoever incites a married woman to run away will be fined eight purses.

6. Whoever gives a bride to a man who has divorced his lawfully wedded wife will be fined 1000 grosh.

7. Whoever shall dare to send away his lawfully wedded wife in order to take another woman in unlawful wedlock will be fined 1000 grosh.

8. Whoever sells his daughter or sister or other female of his blood relations will be fined, like the buyer, 1000 grosh.

9. On the basis of the ancient customs, which are still observed among the Christians of the mountains of Shkodër concerning betrothals, marriages, enticing of other men's wives, running away of wives and other similar causes of trouble, some laws have been enacted for the repression of the aforesaid evil acts and have been approved by His Lordship the Archbishop of Shkodër, Mgr Luigi Çurçi, and by the mountain chiefs. These laws after being weighed by the Government Council have been approved and ordered to be put into execution.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

mitted it because of the frightful blood-feuds caused by fights over women who fled back to their own families or went off with other men. Parents, having once betrothed a daughter in the cradle to a youth also in the cradle, dared not refuse to carry out the bargain when the time came, even if they knew the boy infant had grown up into a bad lot. The marriage was accomplished, and the daughter encouraged to come home if she could not stand it. M 586

If no signs of pregnancy soon occurred a man demanded divorce. Till Vladika Petar's time a woman could not sue for divorce; but by flying home and refusing cohabitation she could drive her husband to do so. The old formula was that a council of elders, at which the pope presided, having been called, the wrongs of the husband were declared and discussed. If the elders decided in his favour, a cup of wine was offered to the wife's male relatives, who drank of it and offered it to the husband, who refused to drink with them. The pope then gave one corner of the wife's apron to her father, and the other corner to the husband's father. He then drew a cord between them and declared them separated. Thus the parents who made the marriage also unmade it. M 586 842 623

Vladika Petar I (1796) decreed that "He who takes a woman whose husband is living or a girl not given to him by her parents or guardians, according to the rites of religion, shall be expelled from our territory and his goods confiscated." M 683 684

12. "A pope who marries a man and woman when the woman has a living husband, or marries a girl forcibly captured, or a woman not permitted by religion to marry, shall be expelled both from the priesthood and from our land." M [688 585]

He permitted women to sue for divorce and instituted a fine of fifty thalars, which the man who had divorced his wife had to pay to her father. If the woman asked and gained the divorce, her father had to pay fifty thalars to the husband. M 586

If there were any children, the elders usually did not grant a divorce. In case of the wife's adultery the husband obtained divorce at once and paid no damages. He could, if he pleased, cut off his wife's nose, and not infrequently did so.

ALBANIA

Among the Catholics, as elsewhere, there was no divorce. Such was the severity of the local priesthood that few persons were aware that it was possible to get a marriage annulled. A 586

An unlucky young Scutarene was told by his parents that they had arranged for him to marry a certain girl. He had already said he wished to marry her, for he had known her as a child. During the A 584

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Serbs EF6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

In the Pulati mountains the head is often shaved, except for the perchin. A 302

In olden days a boy did not rank as a male till his head had been shaved. This was not done till after the ceremony of the first hair-cutting, described above. When once shaved he could be killed for blood-vengeance as male blood of the tribe. A 302 554 885

Mothers would defer the head-shave if they could for a year or two in consequence, but it was a practice not approved of.

The heads of both girls and boys are shaved in the mountains, and a fringe is left over the girl's forehead. A 302

When I was in Kosovo vilayet in 1908 I found that among the scattered Serbian peasants the heads of both girls and boys were S 302

A [302]

FIG. 23.—VARIETIES OF ALBANIAN HEAD-SHAVES

shaved. Both had a perchin, and the girls a fringe over the forehead. So soon as the girl was betrothed her hair was allowed to grow. In the rare case of her remaining unmarried I was told she would keep her head shaved. S 554 554

In the Albanian mountains, where the girls were betrothed as children, I found the hair was not allowed to grow till they were marriageable. A 554 302

Wood-ash and water in the mountains is the usual shaving mixture. Even in civilized places methods were sometimes barbaric. I watched a barber, who stood at the gates of Ragusa on a market-day, inviting incoming peasants to indulge in a shave before entering the town. The patient sat cross-legged on the ground. The barber gripped his head between his knees, spat freely on the razor blade, and set to work. A H 302